DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 421 433 SO 029 081

AUTHOR	Ashley, George
TITLE	Dalit Movements in India and Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: An Introduction and an Annotated Bibliography. Fulbright-Hays Summer Seminars Abroad, 1997 (India).
SPONS AGENCY	United States Educational Foundation in India.
PUB DATE	1997-00-00
NOTE	18p.; For other curriculum project reports by 1997 seminar participants, see SO 029 067-086.
PUB TYPE	Reference Materials - Bibliographies (131) -- Reports - Descriptive (141)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Annotated Bibliographies; Asian Studies; Cultural Awareness; *Culture; Foreign Countries; Higher Education; *Indians; Modern History; Multicultural Education; Non Western Civilization; *Religion Studies; *World History; World Problems
IDENTIFIERS	*India

ABSTRACT

This paper provides materials for a college level course concerning the peoples of contemporary India. The focus of the paper is on the dalits of India, those people formerly called untouchables, and efforts to improve their status. The outspoken advocate for the untouchable caste was Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar (1891-1956). Born an untouchable, Ambedkar won scholarships to Columbia University in the United States and Oxford University in England and completed doctoral degrees in history and law. Ambedkar returned to India and founded a socialist style political party and eventually antagonized Gandhi and Nehru. This paper focuses on the legacy of Ambedkar and examines the changes in India's caste system over the years. The accompanying bibliography is arranged alphabetically with a brief annotation after each entry. (EH)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED 421 433

Dalit Movements in India and Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: An Introduction and an Annotated Bibliography.

Fulbright-Hays Summer Seminars Abroad, 1997 (India)

by

Curriculum Projects Developed by 1997 Seminar Participants

Rosalie Gendimenico

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
☐ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

Submitted to
Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC), USDE

SO 029 081

by United States Educational Foundation in India

DALIT MOVEMENTS IN INDIA AND DR. B. R. AMBEDKAR

An Introduction and an Annotated Bibliography

assembled by Professor George Ashley

Holyoke Community College

This is intended to be used in college level courses concerning the peoples of contemporary India (e.g. courses on India, Asia or regions of Asia, Cultural Anthropology, Comparative Civilizations, World History, etc.). It is the result of work conducted during a Fulbright-Hays Summer Seminar for university, college, and high school teachers during July and August 1997. This information was collected with advice and help provided by:

Dr. P. J. Lavakare, United States Education Foundation in India (New Delhi)

Mr. O. P. Bhardwaj, United States Education Foundation in India (New Delhi)

Dr. Uma Das Gupta, United States Education Foundation in India (Calcutta)

Prof. Surendra Munshi, Indian Institute of Management (Calcutta)

Prof. Nandu Ram, Jawaharlal Nehru University (New Delhi)

George Ashley
Division of Social Sciences
Holyoke Community College
303 Homestead Avenue
Holyoke, MA 01040 USA
Email: gashley@hcc.mass.edu

DALIT MOVEMENTS AND DR. B. R. AMBEDKAR

One of the major themes in the twentieth century has been the struggle of the people of the subaltern to gain freedom from control and exploitation by a small elite. Peasant revolutions and uprisings have occured in countries as disparate as Russia, China, Mexico and ongoing movements for freedom and dignity exist in much of what we commonly call the Third World or Developing World. One part of this has been the movement by the dalits of India (the people formerly called untouchables) to improve their status. Although that effort has been, and continues to be, a major factor in India culture and politics, it is not widely known about outside India. The attention of the world was focused so much on the struggle for national independence under the leadership of Gandhi and Nehru that we have hardly noticed an equally important movement by the Indian underclasses against the elite within India.

Although I was aware that there had been attempts to integrate former untouchables into the rest of Indian society and that there was a significant opposition to this by some members of the upper classes, I had not given much attention to that movement until recently. Then, during the first weeks of August 1997, while I was studying in India with the support of a Fulbright Fellowship, the newspapers were filled with stories about an incident which had just occurred near Mumbai (formerly Bombay). One morning the residents of a dalit neighborhood had awakened to find that a necklace of sandals had been draped around a statue of B. R. Ambedkar. The next day a crowd from the neighborhood, outraged by the desecration of the memorial to their hero, marched on the local police station to protest the failure of the police to find and arrest the perpetrator(s). The police opened fire on the group, killing 11 people and injuring a large number of others.

A few weeks later the papers were filled with stories about a controversial new biography of Ambedkar, Worshipping False Gods by Arun Shourie, which condemns

him for apostatizing from Hinduism, blocking Gandhi's independence movement, and not really writing the Indian Constitution (as reputed), except some of the bad parts. There were calls for the banning of the book by dalit leaders (who found the book offensive) and local governments (which feared that it would provoke communal riots). Almost every day the newspaper editorial pages and the television talk shows were dominated by arguments about whether the book should be banned.

I could not help asking why such a seemingly innocuous insult should incite such an impassioned and tragic outcome and why a man dead more than forty years should still inspire such intense reactions? What follows is a partial answer to my questions.

The term dalit, which can be translated as oppressed or downtrodden, is now widely used in India to refer to the people who formerly were called untouchable. By all social, economic, political and religious criteria they rank at the very bottom of Indian society. Since the late nineteenth century there have been a variety attempts and programs to improve the status and condition of dalits, and in recent decades several dalit movements have attracted increasing attention, but despite these efforts, most observers agree that the situation of dalits has improved remarkably little.

Most Indians conceive of dalits from the perspective of the caste system. The earliest recorded Indian literature, the Vedas, make it clear that from prehistoric times the Aryan society of northern India was divided into four great varnas, each associated with an occupation, rank, and degree of ritual purity/pollution. The men in the three highest varnas undergo a ritual initiation which makes them twice-born, while men in the lowest varna, the shudra, are not initiated and are considered ritually impure. Below the shudras are the outcasts whose ancestors supposedly broke the dharma rules of their caste and were consequently banned and tribal peoples who have not adopted the culture and religion of the dominant Aryans. These people are considered so ritually polluting that, until recently, they were prohibited from touching the twice-

born, hence the term untouchable. This hierarchy of classes and their characteristics can be diagramed as follows:

Class	Traditional Role	Ritual Status
Brahman	priest/teacher	twice-born
Kshatriya	ruler/warrior	twice-born
Vaishya	merchant/artisan	twice-born
Shudra	peasant/servant	uninitiated
Outcast	menial laborer	untouchable
Tribal		untouchable

Over the last three millennia, as Indian society has grown more complex and as Aryan civilization has expanded its influence throughout the sub-continent, absorbing millions of non-Aryans in the process, the varna system, or some modified version of it, spread throughout India. At the same time there developed within each of the varnas thousands of distinct regional and local communities called jatis, each of which is associated with a specific occupation, diet, religious practice, and rank. The jatis differ considerably from one region to another. In any one place there may be anywhere from a half dozen to several hundred jatis organized into a hierarchy, however the names, numbers, and ranks of jatis differ considerably from one place to another.

When the British government took control of India from the East India Company in 1858, it developed a system of indirect rule under which local elites were coopted and British agents were supposed to rule over the masses by applying traditional local law and custom. The British relied heavily on the brahmans and kshatriyas, largely adopted their perspective on Indian society and Hinduism, and made the classic brahman texts, such as the Laws of Manu, part of the defacto law governing Hindus in British India. One aspect of the British Raj were periodic censuses of all Indians which classified and ranked them into several thousand jatis (communities). As a consequence, the caste system became even more rigid than it had been previously.

This process culminated in 1935 with the listing of several hundred "scheduled castes" (commonly abbreviated "SCs") and almost as many "scheduled tribes" (abbreviated "STs") which were considered untouchable.

Since independence in 1947, the government of India has continued the tradition of census by castes. As of 1980 Mandal Commission Report, the three twice-born varnas (sometimes called the "forward castes") made up 25.5% of India's population, the shudras were 52%, the scheduled castes were 15.5%, and the scheduled tribes were 7%. Thus the people once called untouchable are about 22.5% of the population. If the shudras, most of whom are poor peasants, are added, it is obvious that the underclasses total to 74.5% of the population, while all three of the privileged classes total barely more than a quarter of the population.

At the same time that the British were codifying the caste system, several Indian reformers and radicals were calling for its modification or abolition and the integration of untouchables into Indian society. Those reformers did not form a single, united, national movement, and to this day dalit movements remain severely divided and fractious.

In part this is a natural consequence of the enormous size and diversity of the Sub-Continent. Today India has 17 distinct official languages and several hundred other languages and dialects; it has dozens of very distinct ecological and economic regions and numerous discrete religious communities. Most activists have addressed the problems of a specific group in a specific region and, if they gathered a following, it was almost always local or regional.

Another factor which has divided radicals and reformers is a perennial dispute about the origins of the caste system and, consequently, the proper way to dismantle it. On one extreme are scholars and activists who trace the system to Hinduism and consequently propose a radical spiritual transformation of India; they usually call the issue a caste problem. On the other extreme are scholars and activists of a materialist

(often Marxist) bent, who see Hinduism as only a superficial superstructure disguising economic inequality and exploitation; these people usually call the syndrome a class problem and usually advocate some variety of socialism as its solution. The rivalries between adherents of these two camps (and several other, less influential, ideologies) have been, and continue to be, passionate and vituperative.

Yet another factor inhibiting a united dalit front is the existence of several thousand distinct dalit castes and tribes. Often these groups do not see themselves as a single oppressed mass; they are just as likely to see each other as rivals for life's meager rewards and are just as rank-conscious relative to each other as the twice-born are toward all dalits.

The first major critic of the caste system and advocate for dalits was Jotiba Phule (1826-1890), an affluent shudra who broke tradition by establishing schools for shudras and untouchables, and then broke tradition again by opening those schools to girls as well as boys. He tried to unite shudras and untouchables in a campaign to break the monopoly of power by the twice-born and he developed a theory to explain the origins of castes. Making an analogy to the European conquest and subjugation of Native Americans in the Western Hemishere, he said the Aryans were light skinned invaders who conquered, suppressed, and exploited the native, dark-skinned natives of India.

During the early decades of the twentieth century several activists picked up this theme and ramified it. They claiming that the south Indians who speak Dravidian languages and the darker-skinned members of the shudra, untouchable, and tribal groups are the descendants of the aboriginal population of India who have been displaced or exploited by the descendants of the Aryan invaders. Some of these people argued that barriers against untouchables within Hinduism should be broken down and that dalits should be allowed the same rights to enter temples and be initiated as the three upper varnas. They often encouraged the shudras and untouchables to adopt the rituals and vegetarian diet of the upper castes.

Others, such as Bhagyareddy Varna, argued for a complete break from the Hindu tradition. The extreme form of this pattern was taken by E. V. Ramaswami, usually called "Periyar" (1879-1973). Angered by the elitist and northern Indian dominance within the Indian National Congress, he left the party and founded a movement in what is now Tamil Nadu state dedicated to the abolition of all caste distinctions, the rejection of all religion, and the maintainance of Tamil language and culture in the face of growing Hindi influence. Even though he traveled to the Soviet Union in 1932 and spoke glowingly about the wonders of atheistic socialism, he was condemned by the twice-born leadership of the Indian communist movement because he concentrated on caste issues, rather than economic class issues. Ostracised by the left, Periyar moved away from socialism to concentrate more on ethnic issues and was a significant contributor toward the Tamil nationalist movement which has played such a large role in Indian politics in the last several decades.

A different tack was taken by Narayananaswami Guru in what is now Kerala state. Adopting the slogan "One religion, one caste, one God," he pressed for both an egalitarian religious reform and the maintainance of Dravidian language and culture against rising Hindi and north Indian influence. Although little-know elswhere in India, his movement and disconcertingly lifelike statues of him can be found throughout Kerala to this day.

Towering over all these other people and movements is the figure of Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar (1891-1956). He was born into the untouchable Mahar community in what is now Maharashtra state and had the good fortune to attend a school opened to untouchables by the reforming Maharaja of Baroda. He eventually won scholarships to Columbia University in the United States and Oxford University in Britain, from which he earned doctoral degrees in History and Law. Returning the India, he became an outspoken advocate for his people and founded a socialist style political party during the 1920s and 1930s in what was then the Bombay Presidency of British India. He

tried to draw into that party a broad spectrum of untouchables, shudras, and industrialized workers. He bluntly condemned the caste system. In reply to sociologists and anthropologists who analyzed the caste system as a functional division of labor in a pre-industrial state, Ambedkar reponded that caste was "not a division of labour, but a division of labourers" so they could be exploited by an elite more effectively. He rejected Phule's theory that caste was based on conquest of the aboriginal population of India by a light-skinned invaders.

Gandhi tried to draw Ambedkar and his followers into the independence movement of the Indian National Congress. Ambedkar pressed Gandhi to condemn the caste system, which Gandhi refused to do. (He probably had no choice if he was to retain the support of the twice-born, high caste Hindus who, then as now, made up the majority of the Congress Party leadership.) Gandhi did agree to condemn untouchability and famously renamed untouchables "harijans," meaning Children of God.

During the protracted negotiations with Britain concerning independence, Ambedkar often called upon the British to grant home rule or independence only with guarantees to protect dalits from high caste Hindus, much as Jinnah demanded a separate homeland for the Muslim minority to protect them from the Hindu majority. He often said he could not see how it would be any better for dalits to be ruled by a native Hindu elite rather than the alien British elite. In the early 1930s when Ambedkar was able to convince the British Raj to establish separate electoral districts for untouchables to select their own delegates for the representative assemblies then being established, Gandhi condemned the separate district plan as divisive, and was able to force the abolition of these separate districts by one of his famous "fasts unto death."

Ambedkar became increasingly isolated from other radical movements in India. He was branded a British agent by Gandhi, often outmanouvered by Nehru, suffered frequent humiliations by caste-conscious leaders of Congress, and mocked by the

twice-born intellectuals who ran India's communist and socialist parties because he concentrated on the superficial, superstructure issue of caste rather than the "real" issue of economic class. He became convinced that the twice-born Hindus, regardless of their political persuasion, would never modify or reform the caste system. In the late 1930s he announced that "Although I was born an Hindu, I will not die a Hindu" and in 1942 he founded the Scheduled Caste Federation to protect the rights of dalits in what would soon be an independent India.

When independence did come in 1947, Ambedkar played a key role in the Constituent Assembly and came to be called the Father of the Indian Constitution. He wrote into that document articles which outlawed untouchability and a "directive principle" that, in order to reverse the effects of untouchability, the government of India should reserve some civil service positions and some seats in schools and universities for members of the scheduled castes and tribes.

Despite his success at winning "reservations" for former untouchables, Ambedkar became convinced that twice-born Hindus would never give up the idea of caste inequality. In 1954, only two years before his death, he publicly converted to Buddhism (a religion which is supposedly castless) and called upon other dalits to do the same. Several million did.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s two new movements became the most obvious advocates for the cause of the oppressed. The Naxalite movement, drawing from anarchist, Leninist and Maoist traditions, sparked a series of violent attacks on all symbols of elite power, including, but not limited to, landlords, government officials, schools, universities. Originating among tribal peoples of West Bengal, it quickly spread among tribal and peasant peoples in eastern and central India, and was erradicated only by severely repressive measures by the national government.

Simultaneously in Bombay a small number of educated shudras and ex-untouchables started the Dalit Panther movement, clearly inspired by the contemporary

Black Panther movement in the US. They were the first movement by the underclass to deliberately adopt the term dalit to describe itself. They explicitly rejected the Gandhian term harijan. "If all people are God's children," they asked, "why should we alone bear the title?" They also were angered by the fact that the term harijan was previously used in some parts of India to refer to the fatherless children of temple dancers/prostitutes. The most characteristic feature of the Dalit Panthers was a raw poetry and street theater intended to inflame dalit anger against the elite.

During the last two decades a bewildering variety of movements dedicated to the cause of dalits have arisen. A large and increasingly vocal dalit women's movement has taken on not only the economic, social, and political elite, but patriarchal authority by dalit men over dalit women. Several movements for tribal autonomy or independence have put increasing pressure on the central government, particularly in Assam state. A fast-growing environmentalist movement has pressed for protection for forests and rivers essential to the livelihood of poor people. All of these and many other reform and revolutionary movements too numerous to mention here have mixed these themes in countless variations and have formed coalitions with (and sometimes against) each other.

On one level Ambedkar's legacy seems quite thin. Only a small fraction of the dalits converted to Buddhism. Forty years after his death the caste system is very much alive, particularly in rural areas where 80% of Indians and 90% of dalits live. Although some dalits have entered the lower levels of the Indian civil service, the upper levels are still dominated by brahmans.

The record is particularly grim in education. Most twice-born and urban middle class families send their children to private schools, many of which are subsidized by the government, while the government-run state schools attended by dalits are poorly funded. India's huge, prestigious, government-subsidized university system is almost free to students it accepts, but almost all of those students come from twice-born and/or

urban middle class families. University faculties (which are still overwhelmingly brahman) have accepted very few dalits even into the university slots supposedly reserved for them. Elementary education is not compulsory in most of India and the majority of dalits do not send their children to school or, if they do place their children in school, they remove them at a very early age. The failure of the government to make education compulsory or to more adequately fund it is often rationalized by the fact that dalit families can not survive without the income generated by their children's labor. When the Indian central government decided in 1990 to implement the Mandal Commission recommendation that additional reservations in universities and civil service jobs be created for the poorest shudra jatis (called other backward classes or OBCs) there was a wave of protests by the twice-born which included young twice-born men setting themselves on fire.

But statues of Ambedkar have sprouted in the thousands all over India, especially in urban dalit neighborhoods. In August, 1997 K. R. Narayanan, a man from a dalit community, was elected to the largely ceremonial office of President of India. Communist Party governments sympathetic to the problems of dalits, albeit usually led by the twice-born, have ruled for more than a generation in the states of Kerala and West Bengal. As the power of the Congress Party has diminished during the 1990s, other local and regional parties expressing support for the cause of dalits have risen to prominence in several other states. And in all of these the legacy and name of Ambedkar are frequently invoked.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Antony, M. J. 1997. Dalit Rights: Landmark Judgements on SC/ST/Backward Classes. New Delhi: Indian Social Institute.

A description of over a hundred major legal cases concerning the rights of the oppressed and an analysis of the implications of the decisions in those cases.

Fernandes, Walter (ed.). 1996. The Emerging Dalit Identity: The Re-assertion of the Subalterns. New Delhi: Indian Social Institute.

An anthology of more than a dozen articles by Indian academicians and activists. While some are essentially historical (e.g. a piece on Gandhi and Ambedkar by Bineshwar Pathak), many concern current issues and the prospects for the future (e.g. a piece on reservations today and tomorrow by Bhagwan Das).

Gore, M. S. 1993. The Social Context of an Ideology: Ambedkar's Political and Social Thought. New Delhi: Sage Publications.

This is a sociologist's analysis of the social environment in which Ambedkar developed his ideology and movement. Although the emphasis is on Ambedkar's milieu and his citique of it, the book is remarkably free of academic, sociological jargon and is a good introduction to many of Ambedkar's central ideas. It is one of the few books about Ambedkar which is scrupulously neutral in presenting his ideas rather than glorifying or vilifying.

Ilaiah, Kancha. 1996. Why I am not a Hindu: A Sudra Critique of Hindutva Philosophy, Culture and Political Economy. Calcutta: Samya.

A passionate attack on the religion, attitudes, and callousness of twice-born, upper-caste Hindus written by a man who rose from shudra origins to a university professorship. Reminiscent in style and tone to The Autobiography of Malcom X, Ilaiah, unfortunately did not benefit from the help of an editor as

skilled as Alex Hailey, and some sections seem to be strings of non sequiturs or bits of undigested Marxist jargon. But the first chapter is an excellent introduction to how alienated many Shudras and dalits are from upper class Hindu and Indian life and culture.

Kananaikil, Jose. 1986. Scheduled Castes in Search of Justice; Part I: Knocking on the Door of the Lok Sabha. New Delhi: Indian Social Insitute.

Kananaikil, Jose. 1986. Scheduled Castes in Search of Justice; Part II: The Verdict of the Supreme Court. New Delhi: Indian Social Institute.

Kananaikil, Jose. 1993. Scheduled Caste Converts in Search of Justice; Part III Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Orders (Amendment) Bill, 1990. New Delhi: Indian Social Insitute.

This is a series of three pamphlets describing and analyzing three specific issues concerning scheduled castes which have been debated in the lower house of the Indian Parliament (Lok Sabha) or tried in the the Indian Supreme Court. Large parts of all three pamphlets consist of testimony by witness.

Kananaikil, Jose. 1994. Dalit Organisations: A Directory. New Delhi: Indian Social Institute.

This is a list and a brief description of about 100 organizations and several government agencies which are dedicated to serving and mobilizing dalits.

Kolenda, Pauline. 1985. Caste in Contemporary India: Beyond Organic Solidarity. Prospect Heights, Illinois: Waveland Press.

A good introduction to the caste system written for an American audience by an anthropologist who has done research in India. It contains synopses of several different theories about the origins and development of the caste system. There are also sections on untouchability, the campaign to abolish it, and the roles of Gandhi and Ambedkar in that struggle.

Mishkaben, Marija Srcs. 1996. To Survive and Prevail: Stories of the Tribal Women of Sabarkantha. New Delhi: Indian Social Institute.

A collection of life stories of Gujarati adivasi women prepared by a Slovenian Christian nun who has worked with them for more than two decades.

Omvedt, Gail. 1993. Reinventing Revolution: New Social Movements and the Socialist Tradition in India. Armonk, New York: M. E. Sharpe.

Omvedt, Gail. 1993. Dalits and the Democratic Revolution: Dr. Ambedkar and the Dalit Movement in Colonial India. New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Omvedt, Gail. 1995. Dalit Visions: The Anti-Caste Movement and the Construction of an Indian Identity (Tracts for the Times #8). New Delhi: Orient Longman.

Omvedt is an American who went to India almost three decades ago to study dalits and stayed to become an outspoken advocate and activist, especially for oppressed women. She writes from a leftist and feminist perspective, but in a style blessedly free of Marxist and academic jargon. Dalit Visions is a well-written short history of several dalit leaders and movements over the last century. The book on Ambedkar is a detailed and scholarly description and analysis of his ideology and activities. Reinventing Revolution is a detailed and scholarly description and analysis of a broad spectrum of radical movements in India during the last two decades, including movements emphasizing women's issues and environmental issues.

Parkash, Prem. 1993. Ambedkar: Poltics and Scheduled Castes. New Delhi: Ashish Publishing House.

A laudatory description and analysis of the ideas and activities of Ambedkar concerning the conditions of dalits. Although not very well-written, it clearly presents Ambedkar's ideas and emphasizes how accurate were his predictions that Hindu elites would not address the concerns of the oppressed peoples or attempt to dismantle the caste system.

Robb, Peter (ed.). 1993. Dalit Movements and the Meanings of Labour in India. New Delhi: Oxford India Paperbacks.

An anthology of articles, mostly by British academicians, including pieces on tribal women's labor by Marine Carrin-Bouez, Untouchables in Uttar Pradesh by Nandini Gooptu, and Buddhism, Marxism, and Ambedkar by Valerian Rodrigues.

Savur, Manorama and Munshi, Indra (eds.). 1995. Contradictions in Indian Society: Essays in Honor of Professor A. R. Desai. Jaipur: Rawat Publications.

An anthology of ten articles by different authors, including pieces on dalit movements by Ghanshayam Shah, rural women's movements by Gail Omvedt, and the controversy concerning the Mandal Commission Report by Sujata Saldanha.

Shabbir, Mohammad (ed.). 1997. B. R. Ambedkar: Study in Law & Society. New Delhi: Rawat Publications.

A large collection or articles describing and analyzing Ambedkar, his ideas and his leadership. Separate sections, each consisting of at least a half dozen articles, concern his ideas on social justice, his role as constitution maker, his plans for the "weaker sections" of society, his ideas on Hinduism, and his role as a "Messiah of Suppressed Humanity."

Shourie, Arun. 1997. Worshipping False Gods: Ambedkar, and the facts which have been erased. New Delhi: ASA Publications.

A passionate attack on the reputation of Ambedkar which has become quite controvercial. Shourie emphasizes that those who idolize Ambedkar overlook the fact that he was not an Indian patriot, that he struggled against Gandhi and Nerhu, that he conspired with the British against the Indian National Congress, and that he was not the primary author of the Indian Constitution.

Singh, K. S. 1993. The Scheduled Castes, Revised Edition. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

This is a revision of the second volume of the monumental, ten volume Peoples of India series prepared by the Anthropological Survey of India under the direction of the respected scholar K. S. Singh. For factual and statistical data concerning the number, locations, and conditions of the scheduled castes, this is the source.

The Indian Social Institute, which is listed as publisher of several books listed in this bibliography, is an excellent source of information on dalits. It is a research and social service agency funded jointly by the government of India and foreign aid from several European countries. Its address is:

Indian Social Institute
Lodi Road
New Delhi, 110-003
India

Some of the books and pamphlets listed in this bibliography may be difficult to access in the United States. I own copies of most of them and I am willing to loan them to interested scholars. I may be reached at:

George Ashley
Division of Social Sciences
Holyoke Community College
303 Homestead Avenue
Holyoke, MA 01040 USA
Office Phone: 413-247-9349
College Fax: 413-534-8975
Email: gashley@hcc.mass.edu

grants\Indiaz.doc